Mr. PRESIDENT: I am one of those favorable to the construction of a railroad to the Pacific ocean, and favorable to the granting by the Federal Government of whatever aid is necessary to the constitutionality of a measure of this character, which is a measure to provide for the common defence, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. It cannot be that a measure designed to carry out the very objects for which the Constitution was formed, is in conflict with that instrument. Nor shall I undertake to point out the importance of this great work. That has been done by others, and it would be a work of supercrogation on my part now to attempt to point out the advantages in a domestic point of riew to our own people, and the great advantages to accrue to this country in its foreign interourse with the other nations of the earth, from the construction of this great work across the continent. It would facilitate intercourse with those eastern nations now for the first time about to be freely opened to the civilized world, cupidity of European nations from the earliest times. It would be the means of transporting into the heart of the country, and across the tinent, the commerce and the riches of the East, which contribute so largely to the wealth and importance of the enlightened nations of Eu-

one road is to be built, as has been justly said, it should be a central one, a road that will accommodate most of the population and business of the country. We do not want a road where no one lives, but where the business and population of the country are; and all parties, it seems to me, from all sections of the country, should unite in favor of that great national route which will accommodate to the greatest extent our population and the business of the country. I am very well satisfied to commence the road on the Missouri river between the mouths of the Big Sioux and Kansas rivers, as provided in this bill. I think a road commencing between those termination on the east, and terminating on the Pacific at San Francisco, and built on the most direct and San Francisco, and built on the most direct and harmony with the views of the party, maintaining the relation he does to it? I understand by action of the party, and I have sought to

But, sir, we have no assurance from this bill that any such road is to be built; and before I can give my vote, partial as I am to the construction of a Pacific railroad, to any bill, I must know something about where that road is to run. I do not understand the bill under consideration as some of its friends do. The Senator from California, who has this bill in charge, [Mr. lwix,] seems to suppose that the location of the road is left to the contractors. Such is not my understanding of it. The choice of the point from which the road is to start is left to the contractors between certain limits-the mouths of the Big Sioux and Kansas rivers-but they have no authority to select the route under this bill. In looking at the remarks of the Senator from lalifornia, I find that he states that the committee were careful, in preparing this measure, to confer no discretionary power on the President or any one else. Why, sir, this bill confers all power on the President. He may carry the road where e picases, and we have had some experience as to how this power will be exercised on the part of the executive authorities; and I will call the attention of the Senate in a moment to the way in which power is exercised for we have had some foretaste, in the past action of the Government, of what may be expected under this bill, if it should pass in its present shape.

The bill under consideration does not give to the contractors the right to select the route, but it directs a contract to be entered into between the President and such persons as may choose to Francisco, "on the most eligible route, reference being had to feasibility, shortness, and economy, (the President) most advantageous to the United States for the full and complete performance of route is most eligible, and most advantageous to the United States? The President, to whom full discretion is left over the whole matter of the route by the provisions of this bill. After authority by the terms of the bill to locate the general route of the road, but that can only mean the general route on the line selected by the President, who will doubtless refuse to make a contract unless to take the road on the route he shall deem most eligible.

the executive authorities use discretion of this kind. I recollect that, about two years ago, Congress passed a law authorizing the Postmaster General to contract for the conveyance of a mail from such point on the Mississippi river as the contractors may select," (it was a little more specific than this hill.) "to San Francisco, in the State of California;" and that act provided that the Postmaster General should, before entering into the contract, "be satisfied of the ability and disposition of the parties, bons fide and in good derstood, when that bill was pending, and when contractors to select the route by which they would take the mail across the continent to San Office Department so understood the law : for, in the advertisement for proposals under that act, point on the Mississippi river, bidders will name the intermediate points proposed to be embraced in the route, and otherwise designate its course

Under this advertisement for proposals transport the letter mail overland to California, but what does the Postmaster General do? He rejects every bid that was made for a specific route, and adopts a route of his own. I have his official report, made at the commencement of the last session of Congress, in which he states that "the foregoing route," after stating what route be had selected, "is selected for the overland ' judgment, more advantages and fewer disad

vantages than any other." Now, mark what he says further: "No bid hav ing been made for this particular route, and all the bidders whose bids were considered regular under the advertisement and the act of Congress having consented that their bids may be held and considered as extending and applying to this route, therefore, he goes on to make a contract. Here the contractors were coerced, in defiance of an express act of Congress, into changing their bids to take the mail over a route indicated by the Postmaster General, or else they could not have the contract at all. Their bids were made applicable to a route which he designated; and what was that route? A route starting from the cities of St. Louis and Memphis converging in Arkansas, and running away down water, in some instances, for more than seventy around on to the Pacific coast, hundreds of miles south of San Francisco, and up the coast to that city-a mail route as crooked as an ox-bow, running south six parallels of latitude, and then back again six degrees of latitude to reach the

To justify himself for selecting this circuitor route, the Postmaster General reported to Congress that the distance to be travelled from Fulton, in Arkansas, to San Francisco, was 2.016 miles, and was about the same by that route from the Mississippi river as by any other, whereas the actual distance travelled by the mail on the route selected has turned out to be longer by

hundreds of miles than the Postmaster General reported it to Congress. 1857, anthorizing the Postmaster General to contract for the carrying of a mail overland from a point on the Mississippi river, to be designated by the contractors, to San Francisco, he had authority to make a contract over such a route as the President of the United States would have any difficulty in making a contract for carrying the mail on this railroad over any route that he should think proper, provided he made the starting point between the mouths of the rivers indicated in the bill. Therefore, with the experience we have heretofore had, unless this bill is amend-

me to vote for two roads. Sir, I trust the day is munion in the Democratic church. far distant, when our legislation will be shaped The so-called Democratic party in with reference to a separation of the States of accomplish the object. I shall not stop to argue this Union. Has it come to this, that the basis of our legislation is to be a division? If so, I apprehend it will not be long before we have it. But, sir, I am glad that the Senator from Georgia has spoken out so boldly. He has but avowed what I have long understood to be the

sentiment of the leaders of the party in power. I believe he is a fair exponent of their views; and that distinguished Senator, occupying a body, possessing the confidence of the Administration and the party in power-Mr. IVERSON. Will the Senator allow me a

Mr. TRUMBULL. Certainly. Mr. IVERSON. The Segator is greatly mis-

taken when he says I am in the confidence of the Administration. I did not speak the putiments of the Administration. So far as I under-stand them, I do not believe the Administration maintain the sentiments which I uttered yester day. I certainly have no official or personal connection with the Administration, or any member of it, although I must state that I approve of the conduct and the general measures Mr. TRUMBULL. I did not suppose, or

to be understood as intimating, that the elaborately-prepared and carefully-written speech of Whigs. ator had received the approbation of the Administration in advance; but he being assoof the present day. I have understood, before that such were their views. I supposed that they looked, as the Senator told us, to the control of this great Government in all its departments, executive, legislative, and judicial, by the slave-

show this to the country before, that they do en-dorse the very doctrines which he has so frankly and plainly avowed here in the Senate, and that it amounts simply to this: "We will control the Government; we will disburse its revenue and dispense its patronage, and govern the North; the purpose merely of ruling and controlling you for our benefit and aggrandizement; but

and when we cannot do it, we will dissolve connection with you; we will unite with you for when the time that we can do so ceases, th Republic ceases to exist;" and when a practimeasure is pending before this body, a motion is made to recommit it, for the very purpose of establishing two roads across the continent, looking to a division of the Confederacy. The Senator said yesterday:
"When the present Republican party, or its

get possession of the Government; when it has President, both Houses of Congress, and the Judiciary, what will stay its hand? It can-

is a party of progress, of power. It is going on; State into another, clearly shows this. The lanand I coincide with the statements uttered by guage is, that "persons held to service or labor that Senator yesterday, that the time will come in one State, under the laws thereof," and escaping when it will take possession of the Government. into another, shall be delivered up, &c.; that is It has but to pursue the even tenor of its way, under the laws of the State, not under the laws of standing up for the rights of free labor and free the Constitution of the United States. You canwhite men against the domination of the slave not reclaim a runaway negro in any State of thi power, standing by the Constitution, standing by Union, unless he is held as a slave by virtue of a the Union, encroaching upon the rights of no state law. The Sale law. Th the Union, encroaching upon the rights of no State law. This shows that the Constitution on in that course to attain power and possession | force in the Territories of the United States, unof the Government, and make our Union perpet- less Congress carries it there. That instrument ual. Further, the Senator said :

Union dissolved. One of these two things is ernment which was formed by

It is by statements of this kind, as to the aims and objects of the Republican party, that the tories; nor does it extend there except by operaalthough I accord to the Senator from Goorgia a was passed, Congress inserted a clause in it defair exposition of the designs of the leaders of his | claring that the Constitution of the United States derstand the position of the Republican party, the Constitution did not reach that Territory at Does it propose to interfere with your institution | all, unless it was made to do so by act of Con-Slavery? Where? When? When, in any gress. of its recognised public conventions, has it ever avowed such a principle? Never. But it has this to be the meaning of the Constitution. placed itself on the Constitution, and on the doctrines of Jefferson, and Washington, and ries of the United States; and for what length of and where Slavery has not existed. Is that a term of office of a judge in Kansas or Washingnew doctrine in this country? Why, sir, if the ton Territory to four years, under the Constitu

an advocate for disunion at once.

zing with the South, has not carried a single State. I do not consider the triumph of the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. Doug-LAS] as a victory of sound Democracy. It was a Whiggery, and no more."

Now, sir, if the Senator from Georgia is laboring under any such misapprehension as that the great Republican party of Illinois, which has not been triumphed over, is an Abolition Whig party, he is very much mistaken. If he is under the impression that the party sustaining my colleague is a Free-Soil Democracy, he is very much mis-1854—the Democratic party as much as the Whig | Slavery into a Territory, that you have a right party? In 1854 was inaugurated a measure never before in issue between parties in this country, never before a party test. Immediately preceding that period, in 1852, both the then great political parties had agreed upon the Slavery question. In their National Conventions, each party had passed resolutions pledging itself to the country to abide by the settlement of the Slavery ques-tion as made in 1850, and denouncing any man as an agitator, who, under any pretence whatever, should again raise that question, in Congress or out of Congress. But, sir, what occurred withpledge to the country to abide by the compromeasure of 1850, a proposition was introagain the whole excitement—a proposition to ment of that right. I cannot find it consistent unsettle, not only the policy of 1850, but the with my conscience or my honor, or consistent policy of 1820, under which the country had ac- with my feelings as an honest man, to underquired peace. When that new proposition was introduced to repeal the Missouri Compromise, which excluded Slavery from what now consti-tutes Kansas and Nebraska, persons took their ator from Georgia claims. Therefore, I say that mer political affiliations. Parties were then tutionally, into Kansas. formed anew upon an element never before in

The Senator from Georgia, if he will look in o the proceedings of the House of Representatives, will find that a majority of the Democratic Representatives from the North voted against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Then it was that parties were organized upon a question which was not

before in issue between them. One of those parties, that which opposed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the expansion of Slavery, took the name Republican, and it is composed of persons belonging to all the previous parties - Democrats and Whiges he should designate—and he has made such a contract, and the Government is paying for carring the mail over that route—I ask whether five years, and given us more trouble than any one measure that ever passed the Congress of the United States, assumed the name Democratic-

for one road, lest in the future division of the | States was a distinguished example of that class; Republic it should fall to the North; the very and we have many distinguished examples here, last reason on God's earth which would induce of persons who were Whigs, now in full com-

Georgia describes it, is not made up exclusively of old Democrats. If there had not been some old Whigs and some old Know Nothings in that party, "the triumph of the distinguished Senator from lilinois," of which he spoke, would never have occurred. No. sir; there are enough Know Nothings and Whigs in the Illinois Legislature to have changed the result; and although there are many Whigs in the Republican party in Illiois, there are many Democrats in it. up of both; large numbers, I am happy to say, of both, constituting a decided majority of the people of the State; and the Democratic party, so-called, not only in that State, but in all the Northern States, and the Southern States, too, is

The reproach sought to be cast on the Republican party, by representing it as but an Abolition Whig party, cannot be sustained by the facts in relation to the organization of the party as it at present exists. What has become of the old But the Se Whig party of the South, which once carried many States? Is it not affiliated with and incorporated into the party with which the Senator acts? I need not go any further than his own distinguished colleague, [Mr. Toomss,] to language: show him that he does not abhor altogether affiliation with Whigs, or men who were once

But the Senator proceeded to comment upon the doctrines of the party in Illinois, and he spoke ciated with the Administration, possessing its of the Republican party as denying a right which confidence and that of the party in power, I did the South is entitled to—the right to take slaves regard his views as a fair exposition of the views into the Territories of the United States, the the leaders of the go-called Democratic party common property of the Union. We do deny that the South has any such right. We deny they were so openly and frankly avowed here. that the Republican party makes any discrimi nation between the citizens of slave States and citizens of free States, as to their rights in the Territories. We deny that it advocates any doctrine leading to an inequality between the States. We would give to the citizen of Georgia the same rights in Kansas that we claim for the citizen of Illinois; but we give him none other. We deny to the citizen of Illinois the right to introduce Slavery into Kansas; we deny that right to the citizen of Georgia. They are on an equal footing. We deny to the citizen of Illinois the right to take the laws of Illinois to Kansas.

By the laws of that State, females are of full and lawful age to act for themselves at eighteen years. We deny that a female taken to Kansas by her parents has a right to avail herself of this Illinois law, and assert the rights of an adult person of lawful age at eighteen, if by the laws of Kansas the minority of females does not cease till they are twenty-one; and the fact that she would have ceased to be a minor at eighteen, had she remained in Illinois, cannot avail her in Kansas, where she becomes subject to the Terri-So, in regard to Slavery. We deny the right of a man who owns a slave in Georgia, by virtue of State law, (and he can hold him by virtue of none other.) to take that law with him to Kanlegitimate successors in some other name, shall sas; and hence, when he goes there, he has no right to hold the person as a slave, unless there

be a Territorial law to justify it.
We say that Slavery depends upon local law. not stand still; if it does, it dies. To live and The Constitution of the United States so treats reign, it must go on."

it. The language of that instrument in regard Sir, I believe that. It cannot stand still. It to persons escaping from service or labor in one it. The language of that instrument in regard

Step by step it will be driven onward in its perfect union between the States; and when the mad career, until Slavery is abolished or the Constitution was established, it gave to the Govgovern the Territories; but it did not extend the Constitution of the United States over the Terri-When the Kansas-Nebraska bill I trust he is not a fair exponent of the should extend over Kansas and Nebraska; thus lic sentiment of the South, when it shall uu- indicating that, in the opinion of Congress, The whole practice of the Government shows

Monroe, and Madison, and Jackson, in regard to time? For four years? What does the Consti the Slavery question, ay, sir, and of Polk, too. tution of the United States say? I have not it It proposes to let Slavery alone, wherever it ex- before me, but it specifically declares that the ists under State authority. It proposes to pre- Judges shall be appointed during good behavvent its expansion into countries that are free, lour. What right has Congress to limit the Senator from Georgia had occupied a seat on the | tion of the United States, if that instrument exfloor of the Senate in 1789, when the Govern- tends to, and operates in the Territories? If ment was organized, and when Washington was the appointees are Judges in the contemplation President, and when the law passed excluding of the Constitution of the United States, then Slavery from the great Northwest, according to they are Judges during good behaviour, and the creed he now avows, he must have become Congress has no power to limit the tenure of their office. But Congress has done it, and it has But, sir, the Senator made an allusion to Illi- done it upon this principle: that the Territories politics, upon which I would say a word. belong to the United States, to be governed by all the late elections, conservative and those particular requirements in that instrument sound Democracy, the only element sympathi- which are applicable to States alone, and not to

Congress cannot, of course, do any act in regard to a Territory which the Constitution forbids, such as to pass a law probibiting the freeetory of Free-Soil Democracy over Abolition dom of speech therein'; but it may pass any law higgery, and no more."

the spirit of our institutions.

But the Senator proceeded further to speak of racy of Illinois; and I quite agree with him in that it is a monstrous doctrine, if the principle untry to show that parties were disrupted in be once established that the Constitution carries by indirection to thwart and subvert that conswearing to support the Constitution of my country, I should turn around and say that, although the Constitution gives a right, I will, by unfriendly legislation, or by non-legislation, thwart and deny it. It is a position wholly untenable; and when I believe the Constitution guaranties to an individual any right, I will stand take by indirection to thwart the very instrument which I have sworn to support. But, sir, positions upon that question, irrespective of for- slaves cannot be taken, legitimately and consti-

The Senator from Georgia further told us . "The people of the Southern States, as coto emigrate to these Territories with their slave and all the people of the States in the public territory; laws recognising the equal right of every citizen to go in and possess and enjoy the common inheritance; laws, not to deprive States upon an equal footing in the exercise of a great constitutional right."

an old name applied to a new principle. Who compose its army? Is it alone those who have been Democrats? By no means.

I agree that the people of the South are entitled to equal laws, and to laws that will put in the streets of that city, to catch a runaway negro. Not many years ago, when a single negro. Not many years ago, when a single negro in the exercise of a great constitutional groescaped from bondage in order to regain his I agree that the people of the South are enwhy, sir, 1 need look no further than at the Partial as I am to the project of a railroad to the Partial control of the Partial control o

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REMARKS OF HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL, IN THE SENATE, JANUARY 7, 1859, On the motion of a Pacific railroad, with instructions to a Pacific railroad, with instructions of a Monthern road, and in reply to Hon. A. Izer-son.

Southern road, and in reply to Hon. A. Izer-son.

The servancion of Slavery with a state that is that? The expansion of Slavery with a specific railroad, with instructions to the laws in the one case of the Christian. We have seen this; the country has seen it they keep a Whig out of the ranks if he will endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill? They will rather promote him to high office in the Democratic army. An Abolitionist, or a man who has been an Abolitionist, or a man who has been an Abolitionist, can get into it, if he will endorse the Kansas-Nebraska bill. My friend at the right to insist that slavery of the Christian.

We have seen this; the country has seen it; he dopted. Sum and all the hopes of the Christian. We have seen this; the country has seen it; he was only 38 years old. You may remembers to sits on the totize of Georgia has to insist that kSlavery of the laws in favor of Freedom. Yet the people of the North and a Southern road, with instructions to the laws in the one case to the ded, as much right to insist upon keeping Slavery out of, as a man who happens to own a glave in deep the construction of Georgia has to insist to taking it into, the Territory, as good a right to insist upon keeping Slavery out of, as a man who happens to own a glave in deep the was only 38 years old. You may remember the construction of Georgia has to insist that Slavery of the construction of a Pacific railroad, with instructions to the laws in the out of the construction of the Confederacy, and was unwilling to go for the Censtruction of a Northern and a Southern road, and in reply to Hon. A. Izer-son.

South are replaced with the will endorse the kannas the man who h

population of the United States.

There were, according to the census of 1850, white people, only about three hundred and fifty thousand, something like one in twenty, of the free white population of the South, owned ne- constitutionally done. gres; and yet our legislation here is to be controlled and shaped for the benefit of these three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders, or the Union is to be dissolved. Sir, have the more than five and a half million white people in the South, and more than thirteen million white people in the North, no rights to be respected Is Slavery to be forced upon them by the action of the Federal Government, or the Union be dis-solved? Do we deny just rights to the South, when we allow the man who owns slaves, and the man who owns no slaves, the same rights and the same privileges in going to our public

But the Senator from Georgia told us, that unless he could have a law that would protect these three hundred and fifty thousand slave holders in the holding of slaves in Kansas, he was prepared to dissolve the Union. This is his

"I am free to declare here, that if I had the control of the Southern people, I would demand this of Congress at the organization of every Territorial Government, as the terms upon which the South should remain in the Union. I would hold out 'right' in one hand, and 'separation in the other, and leave the North to choose be-Who is going to do this? Three hundred and

fifty thousand slaveholders? Surely, the five and a half million free white people in the South are not going to hold out their hands in this way, when they do not own a negro, and say, "if yo do not allow us to go with our negroes into the free Territories, we will dissolve the Union. They are not going to do it. Well, who is going to do it? Three hundred and fifty thousand out of twenty million people. Why, sir, I think if we legislate for the benefit and protection of the nineteen twentieths of the people of the South, the Senator has no right to complain that our legislation is shaped against the policy the South wants. But he is right, in some respects, in attaching this importance to the slave power of the South. It is important, and although it is but one in twenty of the white population of the South, I know it controls the legislation of the South. The large planter, with his numerous slaves around him, controls the labor of the country, and monopolizes the land of the coun-; and the white people of the South owning no slaves are in a measure his dependants.

The labor which would otherwise be performed

by the free hands of free men is there performed by slaves; and that labor which every man should be entitled to as his right, as the capital on which he is to live, is taken out of his hands, and given to this servile race. Exercising that control over all the interests of the South, this power comes here to Washington and, I am sorry to say, exercises a control over this General Government Not only the five and a half million free white people of the Southern States are controlled by it, but the thirteen million people in the Northern States, where no slaves exist, are made subject to it: and we are gravely told, if this great population shall attain control of the Government; if they shall elect a President and obtain control of Con gress and the various departments of the Govfor the benefit of three hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders! I suppose the Senator from Georgia will hardly contend that the five and a half million people who own no slaves in the South are benefited by Slavery.

quire me to say, and I wish to speak with entire candor, that although the number of slavehold-ers is but three hundred and fifty thousand, yet more persons are probably interested in Slavery than that, because the slaves are generally owned by the heads of families; and supposing a family to consist of five white persons, which I suppose is a fair estimate, there would be five one and three-quarters millions of the white population of the South that might be directly indirectly interested in Slavery. The only interest the others could have would be to get rid of it, and to elevate labor in that country to a standard where it would be honorable for fre white men to perform it. The Senator, in speaking further of the public

entiment of the South, remarked: "I venture the opinion, that in my own State, so well convinced are the great mass of the people of all parties that the Anti-Slavery agitation is not to cease until the institution is destroyed, if the question was now put whether the Southern States in a body should separate and form a Southern Confederacy, a majority would vote for the proposition."

Well, sir, I can only regret that such is the public sentiment of Georgia, but I hope and trust the Senator is mistaken; and if such a public sentiment does exist there, I apprehend it exists upon a false basis. It has been brought about a misunderstanding of the public sentiment the Republican party is in power, and has an opportunity practically to illustrate its principles. Sir, it is by the misrepresentation of its views that this prejudice has been engendered against the Congress of the United States, irrespective of it in the Southern States. The election of a President of the Republican party to dissolve this Why, sir, what is the Union worth, what sort of a Union is it that we have, if, when a majority of the people of this country, in a constitutional form, elect one of their number President of the United States, that is to break up the Government? Does the South remain in this Union only to control it? Has she no principle, om passing, and which is not inconsistent with further than the principle of obtaining the spoils of office and the power and the patronage of the Government? Is she attached to it by no other the views of what he calls the Free-Soil Democ- ties than these? Has she no love for this Union, under which the people in all parts of the counsome remarks he made in regard to the positions try have prospered to such an unexampled deput forth by that party. I quite agree with him | gree since its formation? Does she take no pride in this country, in its advancement, in its greatness, in its power, and only remain a part that we have. So far as others are concerned, gates from every class, and from all parts of of it merely to enjoy the spoils of office? Sir, it will be time enough for the South to talk about moral or social or political point of view, is, tion of my country guaranties to an individual the right to take his slave into a Territory of the party of the North, makes any aggregation of the last the same is true in all the other Country and the sam party of the North, makes any aggressions upon United States, and I will help, so long as I sit its rights; and if it waits for that day, it will here under an oath to support that Constitution, to support that right. God forbid, that after none is intended. The people of the North, unlaying my hand upon the Holy Scriptures, and like the citizens of Georgia, are a Union-loving people; they will stand by the Union, and stand by the Constitution; and all they ask is, that they be not perverted and undermined by a party which is only willing to support them so long as

Such a party has no existence in the North We are submitting now to an administration of this Government which we believe to be very unjust and very wrong. We have submitted to many acts which we believed to be unconstitutional, acts of usurpation, on the part of the Executive officers of the Federal Government We have seen the partial manner in which the laws of the United States are executed. We have noticed, within a few days, the fact that a cargo of negroes, kidnapped in Africa, has been brought to the Senator's own State, and landed there, to be subjected to Slavery, in defiance of an act of Congress pronouncing it piracy; and equals in the Union, and as joint and equal tration, here in this city, proclaiming, in an editorial article, that our institutions are a failure, property, and to the protection and the enjoy-ment of that property by law during the exist-These Africans have been smuggled away from ends of the Territorial Government; laws passed by Congress as the trustee and common head of the joint property—head of all the States man engaged in this piratical act has been brought to justice. In South Carolina, the juries refuse to indict men engaged in the slave trade. What does the Federal Government do? Where the common inheritance, laws, not to deprive men of property, but to regulate and secure its that the men engaged in importing Africans into Georgia could not be found and arrested? Perhaps the army is in Kansas, guarding perchance men indicted under a pretended charge of trea-son. Possibly it is on its way to Boston, to form

pated in but by a very small proportion of the population of the United States.

There were, according to the census of 1850, Republican party attains power, it will not, as The so-called Democratic church.

The so-called Democratic party in Illinois, the Free-Soil Democracy," as the Senator from Georgia describes it, is not made up exclusively of old Democrats. If there had not been some North; about six million white people resided in the free States of the North and South, and to call the south of old Democrats. If there had not been some of the States of the North and South, and to call the south of old Democratic church.

There were, according to the census of 1895, about twenty million free white people in the encroachments on the rights of the South; but it will, I trust, be equally ready to enforce the laws both North and South, and to call the source of t and two other physicians visit him daily. the slaveholding States; and of those six million army and navy into requisition alike in all the enforcement of law, and it can be legally and

> BOLD AND MANLY LANGUAGE IN THE SOUTH.

The doctrine of the divine right of Slavery, which a few superserviceable friends of the in stitution in New England volunteered to preach and teach a few years ago, has disgusted the more manly minds of the South, and the attempt to revive the slave trade has afforded the opportunity of repelling the heathenish and inhuman imposture. What will the Reverend Mr. Nehemiah Adams think of sentiments like the following, which come to us from the far South? And what must the Southern churches, which teachings are thus scouted for their immorality by the political press?

the Georgia paper, which we find copied with the conventions concluded in 1847 between approbation in a leading Alabama paper, scouts Austria and the small Italian Duchies of Mothe idea of justifying Slavery and the slave trade Prince Metternich, Austria, in the latter year, by the Bible, and at the same time takes the Higher Law ground of reason and religion.

that we have been somewhat disappointed by the rapidly-growing popularity of the idea of reopening the African slave trade. In view, however, of the doctrines which the Church has been more reasonable that we should be surprised that its popularity is no greater. In its zeal to justify us in holding the slaves that we have, the church has-by implication, at least-inculcated the doctrine, that if it is not our positive duty as Christians to bring Africans to this country as slaves, it is at least a right which God has given us, and which we can exercise areatly to our mutual interest. The African can labor for us, and, in return, we can make a Christian of him; and if he happens to be so obtuse as to be beyond the reach of our labor of love, why, we can just requite him by beginning earlier, and civilizing and christianizing his posterity, if he should have any.

Some time ago, we told our readers that we emed to be approaching the point when the religion of this country was to consist of two great dogmas—the one at the North, which alowed no man to be a Christian who owned a slave; and the other at the South, which would give him no chance for heaven unless he had

shown his faith and obedience by aiding to carry out God's decrees in the importation of a megro from Africa. We had then no idea that whatever risk of her authority over her provinces beyond the Alps. Thus supported by Russia, Napoleon III has put England into a very trying and perplexing position; and has virtually tied her hands from any action, excepting in favor of his own policy.

Austria meanwhile gives evident signs that she understands her peril. She has summoned out the full conscription of Lombardy, sparing and most depraved feelings of our nature, the area of the files burnared excepting to be a content of the kind every trying and excepting to the kind every trying and excepting to the files burnared excepting in favor of his own policy.

Austria meanwhile gives evident signs that she understands her peril. She has summoned out the full conscription of Lombardy, sparing not even the widow's only son, nor the elder of the files burnared excepting and most depraved feelings of our nature, the are recolled under the banner of his cross. New York Churchman. has one great merit, in these days, when the church seems to need so much money. It can command any amount that may be needed for

We do not know that anything we can say will have any effect to stay the tide which seems o be setting so strongly in favor of this great iniquity; but because we do not know what effect it may have, we shall say it. If we knew it would have none, it would be the same thing to us. We should still say it. We have no love for the Union, we have no

respect for the General Government, and we lished in 1798, by Cotta, at Tubingen, but since have no particular regard for human enactments, merely because they bear the name of We scout the idea that men are morally bound to obey bad laws until they are repealed If this were a correct principle, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abedneyo, had not been east into the burning fiery furnace, nor would Daniel have been cast into the Lion's den, nor would any of the Christian martyrs have suffered; they would have escaped by obedience to the

It is not therefore from any of these consider ations that we are opposed to the reopening of the slave trade; but it is because it is opposed to all our instincts, to all our feelings, to convictions as a man and a Christian. Considered in ittelf, it is at war with all our ideas of humanity and right feeling; considered with reference to our section, it is opposed to all our at no distant day, a far more serious disturbnotions of interest or of policy.

Those who advocate the reopening of the slave trade do it, so far as we are able to see, upon the following grounds:

of immorality, in holding the slaves that we civilization, commerce, and exchange. have, and especially that we cannot defend the trade between one State and another.

2. That we need and are entitled to cheap labor, to develop our section of the country, to extend our civilization, and to strengthen ourselves against the North, and to strengthen the institution of Slavery as it now exists amongst with the approval of the entire party in New us. All of these things we consider unsound and untenable, and we shall attempt so to show

them. dissolving the Union, and forming a Southern that it is none of their business. The great And to Him our justification is, that we find Congressional Conventions. Yes, New Hampourselves occupying a relation to them which shire leads off in the political contest of 1859, and we can by no possibility change to their advan-boldly accepts, as the mission of the Republican cannot change without great injury to ourselves, party, the restoration of the American Governtage. More than that: a relation which we and certain destruction to them. It is, there- ment to its ancient purity-to rescue the Confore, not only a right for ourselves, but a duty stitution from the perversion of the slave Deto them, that we shall preserve and maintain, protect and defend, this relationship. Whoever ity—to vindicate and protect the interest of free pelieves this as we do, has disposed of the morality of the thing to his full satisfaction, with of the free and home of the brave. And New out either falling back upon Noah's curse upon | Hampshire is not alone; all New England is Ham, and without making it necessary to be-

come a missionary to hunt up wild Africans to bring them here to christianize them. ternal slave trade, while we brand the foreign sympathy for Douglasism. Many in our party as immoral. In other words, that if it is wrong and in the Democratic have watched long and to bring slaves from Africa to the United States, earnestly for the first hearty expression of an it is wrong to bring them from Virginia to Anti-Slavery principle by the Douglas men-one Georgia. If there is any analogy between the two cases, it is too slight to give any strength to hang a hope upon—but they have watched in the argument. Yet, slight as is the analogy, we vain; but on the other hand, we have seen Doug fear that a great many good men have been thoughtlessly misled by it, especially since the den. We know that the demands of the slave pow-Church has prepared the way by proving that er turned the screws of the machinery God intended the Africans for our slaves; and Democratic party so tight, that Douglas and his thence the conclusion is very easy and natural, followers, to save their own lives, were obliged to that we are very greatly out of our duty, and are guilty of great sin, in permitting so many on a question that resulted perhaps in good to of them to be suffering from ignorance and Freedom. But in doing this they have improved barbarism and sunshsne, when we might have every opportunity to appease the slave power, them here, teaching them the great English even to pledge themselves to the doctrine that language, make them wear clothes, and convert them into good Christains and good field Territories. What more can the slave owners hands .- Corner Stone (Columbus, Ga.) -

The Paris correspondent of the Boston Trav-"I regret to record the untimely death of one of the most promising young literary men of France. I mean M. Rigault. He, M. Provost-ciples, nothing for men, unite and press forward

scientific attainments, although he never shone

From the New York Times. THE WAR PROSPECT ABROAD

The general uneasiness of feeling abroad, with regard to the condition of political affairs. and the consequent prospects of the commer-cial world, is visibly increasing; and this in England as well as upon the Continent. The agitation of the question of Reform in

the "platform," although it is prosecuted with considerable vigor, and (thanks to Mr. Buchanan's twaddling jereminds) very largely at the expense of these United States, does not divert attention of the English public from the coming storm on the continent, which may break upon Europe at any moment, and, when t breaks, will convulse the whole system of rade and finance far more thoroughly than did the war with Russia. It is well understood in London that the French Ambassador, the Ducde Malakoff, is urgently pressing the Government of Lord Derby to take up a firm position in the spirit of mercenary time-serving have by the side of France, in demanding from Aus adopted the basest of New England coinages, tria a complete reversal of her Italian policy. think of the predicament in which they stand | During the whole of the past year, Austrian before the eyes of Christendom, when their sgents in Italy have been exerting themselves energetically to effect an extension of the inence conceded to Austria by the treaties of 1815 in the affairs of the Peninsula, and con-It will be seen that the article below from firmed to her in a positive matter-of-fact way by dena and Parma. Under the premiership of ation make such an occupation necessary. events of 1848, we need hardly say, did make such an occupation necessary; and the mis-tress of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom is now virtually sovereign along the whole north-ern frontier of middle Italy. She has never withdrawn from Ancona, in the States of the Church, the troops which she sent there during teaching for several years back, perhaps it were the time of the Roman Republic; and the present object of her diplomacy is to conclude, with Tuscany, Rome, and Naples, conventions anal ogous to those which she has made with Mo dena and Parma. Should she be successful in so doing, she would hold Italy, from the Alps to the Gulf of Sicily, in a network of steel. But France is quite determined that she shall Moniteur coldly but courteously disclaims any actual rapture with the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna, no one attempts to deny the efforts which the French Emperor is making to bring the new Austrian policy to the test of the arrangements of 1815, and to compel the Austrains to recede not only from their attempts at further domination, but from their occupation of Parma and Modena. In these efforts, Napoleon III holds the vantage-ground of principles recognised by all the Powers which were parties to the arrangements of 1815; and one at least of these Powers—the Russian Empire—is fully prepared to support him in insisting upon the practical humiliation of Austria, at the new Austrian policy to the test of the ar-

her youth, and paralyzing, as far as the Government has power so to do, her capacity of revolt. Nor are the Austrian diplomats idle in Central Europe, where they are straining every nerve to bring the influence of Prussia and Gerburg, and in this connection an event which has just excited much comment in Venice deserves mention. The Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung, the most influential journal in Germany, estab removed to Augsburg, in Bavaria, is about to he transferred to Frankfort-on-the-Main The Allgemeine Zeitung has acquired a great part of its influence as the semi-official organ of the Northern Courts, and especially of Russia. During the whole of the Russian war, it was the instrument through which Russia coquetted with Austria and coerced Prussia, so long as the coquetry and coercion were of any avail. While issued at Augsburg, the Gazette has been virtually under the influence of Austria, which is paramount in Bavaria. To go to Frankfort is to go to France, or rather to link France with Russia overtly in the eyes of Europe, and such a movement on the part of such a journal augurs ill for the success of the Austrian ma-

nœuvring in Central Europe. There is indeed every reason to anticipate, ance of the peace of the world than has taken place since the peace of 1815—the war that seems now imminent being acted out, not like the war of 1854-'5, on the distant shores of the 1. That unless we insist upon the morality of Black Sea, but on the Mediterranean and along it, we cannot defend ourselves from the charge | the Alps, and reaching thus the very centre of

> Роктямости, N. H., Jan. 15, 1859. To the Editor of the National Era:

Your efforts to sustain the principles and

standard of the Republican party intact, meets Hampshire. Witness the resolutions passed by the State Convention, (published in the last Era,) composed of nearly four hundred delethe State. Not one word or sentiment was utter ed but was in unison with those resolutions, and labor, and to make our whole country the land equally decisive. New York and the great West respond. Let the New York Tribune and Boston Journal observe the voice of the people. But it is said that we cannot justify the in- The Republicans of New Hampshire have no

need have no fear of such doctrin

the Constitution protects Slavery in the free ask of them, and what a doctrine is this for Anti-Slavery men to have? No man who be-lieves in the Democracy of Jefferson can for eller writes from Paris, Dec. 28, of the death of one moment sympathise with Douglas and

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